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ABSTRACT

In this paper, various studies and surveys on the status of East Indians in Canada and attitudes towards them are summarized. The history of the East Indian immigration into Canada is sketched. A 1976 survey of attitudes of Canadians toward multiculturalism (Berry, Kalin, and Taylor, 1976) is outlined. A study of the intercultural perceptions of East Indian women based on responses of male and female East Indians and Canadians is described, including the following results: (1) women have a duality in the nature of their life orientation (tradition vs. contemporary); (2) women have a differential approach in their selection of which aspects of Canadian culture to emulate; (3) the strong traditional dimension of their self-concept plays an important role in determining adjustment and acculturation within the host country. Multiculturalism in Canada is discussed from the perspective of socio-psychological theory. Racism in Canada is examined in terms of the Federal "Green Paper" on Immigration (1975), the Berry Study on Multiculturalism (1977), the Pitman Report (1977), and the Frances Henry Study of Racism in Toronto (1978). It is suggested that pluralism in Canada be promoted by studying the dynamics of inter-ethnic relationships, creating multicultural government programs, giving East Indians more media recognition, and working to eliminate ethnocentric attitudes. (Author/WI)

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CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES ON EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS

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A paper presented at the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies, University of Guelph, May 23 - 26, 1978

Title of Panel: East Indians in Canada
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INTRODUCTION:

I. Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, 1976.

Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1976) sets out the findings of the Commission's primary mandate to examine the "contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada" within the context of the bicultural and bilingual character of Canada, and to recommend "the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution".[1]

Perusal of this document gives little understanding of the composition and characteristics of the East Indian community, its rich cultures and religions, its contributions to Canada. A few paragraphs cover Asian immigration and note is made of the increase in East Indian immigrants since the late 1950's. Data and descriptions presented lag behind current population estimates[2] of East Indians in Canada, and the contemporary Indian experience in this country.

The Commission acknowledges that much of the necessary research and data collection pertinent to its mandate of examining Canadians whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French has never been done. Presumably this admission has particular relevance for the East Indian people and Asian groups more generally.

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[1]p1, Book IV, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976.

[2]Estimates of the East Indian population in Canada: 1/4 million with an estimated 100 - 120,000 resident in Metropolitan Toronto-----Courtesy of the Indian Immigrant Aid Services, Toronto.

II. East Indian Immigration into Canada.

Apart from the Sikhs of British Columbia who entered this country in the early part of this century (1905) most East Indians have entered Canada in one of three identifiable movements, primarily in response to Canadian needs or for humanitarian reasons. Thus:

(i) In the 60's East Indian people entering this country were largely well educated professionals to fill vacancies in Canadian institutions of higher learning. Between 1965-67 and 1968-72 Asian professionals (inclusive of East Indians) emigrated to Canada at the rate of 51.3% and 44.5% respectively.[3]

(ii) A second wave entered Canada during the emergency period of Asian expulsion from Uganada in 1972.

(iii) More recently fewer East Indian professionals are entering the country as Canada's "need picture" has changed. Canadian born professionals have merged in the interim period between the 60's and the present time, unemployment has resulted in more stringent controls on potential immigrants, unless sponsored by a relative resident in Canada, and only if the candidates' skills are required in the country. Consequently, more recently, there has been a shift from East Indian immigrant professionals to people with lower level skills to fill positions Canadians are unwilling to take on.

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[3]G.S. Paul: The Green Paper and Third World Immigrants. Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. 7, #1, 1975, p. 40-49.

III. Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada (Berry, Kalin, and Taylor, 1976).

The most extensive survey of attitudes of Canadians toward multiculturalism has recently been released. The survey sampled approximately 95% of the Canadian population, utilizing one-hour interviews, with 1849 respondents of Angloceltic and French origins and the major European groups: Dutch, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Scandinavian and Ukranian. The findings of the study relevant to the present paper are as follows:

(i) Respondents showed a reasonably high level of overt tolerance for ethnic diversity and a general acceptance of multiculturalism as a social fact. Thus for, example, the level of acceptability of immigrants who were coloured by the total sample was 65.8%. However, while overt racism, was low, race was an important dimension in categorizing people. Racially different groups appeared at the bottom of the perceived ethnic hierarchy. French Canadians, the less educated, people in the lower economic groups, the younger and the older tended to be more conservative.

Overall, the study gives scattered data relevant to East Indians. Thus, for the total sample, East Indians were assigned above average ratings on the dimension, "stick together", and below average ratings on the dimensions, "hardworking, important, Canadian, clean, similar to me, likeable, well known to me."

When judged with reference to the respondent's self (i.e., myself), East Indians were assigned a rank of '23' by Anglocelts and a rank of '24' by French Canadians respectively (out of 27 possible rankings). Respondents were aware of the East Indian presence for they

assigned the group a ranking of '11' (out of 24 possible rankings) on the dimension, "awareness of ethnic groups."

These data are rather disappointing when viewed in the context of two further findings as follows:

(a) The Berry Study: 78.9% of the total sample would accept "immigrants who are highly educated."

(b) The Pitman Report (1977, p. 41): States: "Probably no group of immigrants has ever come to Canada with more skills and more advanced educational background....Conversely, no minority group has been so obviously under-employed..."

(ii) Respondents showed a considerble lack of knowledge of government policy regarding multiculturalism (only 1/5 of the sample knew about the policy). Further, there was differential support for various multicultural programs. Community centres and folk festivals were viewed positively. Third language teaching and broadcasting somewhat negatively. Respondents were more tolerant of "permissive integration" (people are allowed to maintain old ways of life) than of "supportive integration" (people are encouraged to maintain old ways of life).

(iii) The general positive support for a multicultural ideology is indicated by agreement to the following items:

> "there is a lot that Canadians can gain from friendly relations with immigrants" (81.0%)
>
> "it would be good to see all the ethnic groups in Canada retain their cultures" (64.4%)
>
> "a society which has a variety of ethnic groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur" (52.5%).

Overall disagreement is given to the following items:

"it is best for Canada if all immigrants forget their cultural background as soon as possible" (61.6%).

"a person who doesn't speak English has no right to get ahead in Canada" (73.7%)

The relevance of these responses will become obvious when considering white respondents perceptions of East Indian women given in Table 1.

IV White Canadian Perspective*:

Courtesy of my students and contacts in varied settings in the community, East Indian and Canadian male and female, student and non-student respondents were asked about their intercultural perceptions of women.

Thus, three broad questions were asked:

How do women of East Indian origin (Canadian) "come across" to you? What do you like about them, and what do you dislike about them? To date, 189 Canadians mainly students, 65 males and 76 females, have responded. Non-student Canadians, 11 males and 37 females, were mainly white collar workers, a few professionals, and housewives.

Canadian perceptions of Indian women ranged from statements that were clearly favourable or unfavourable, to shifts from favourable to unfavourable impressions, to non-judgmental, non-committal type statements (Table 1). Examples of positive, liked characteristics pertained to the Indian woman's beauty, grace, intelligence, femininity, mystique, self-control. Negative adjectives used describing disliked characteristics were: dirty, greasy, food smells, alien odor. Only a

* Exploratory study. Findings should not be generalized to other settings or populations until further data have been collected.

minority of the respondents liked Indian women wearing their traditional dress (the correct label for the Indian dress, "sari" was not used at all) and then only on special occasions. The "tikka" (dot) on the Hindu woman's forehead was not liked. One respondent wrote: "we are all equal here", others wrote "if in Canada dress as Canadians" and "dislike jewels worn on face". there was strong dislike too, of Indians speaking their home languages. Again, the feeling expressed was that Indians should speak English if they live in Canada. Several respondents experienced Indian women as pushy, rude, abrupt, out of touch with Canadian culture, ignorant of Canadian customs, perpetuating their own culture, unwilling to change.

Other respondents felt looked down upon in their interactions with East Indian especially in service-type settings, many used the word "arrogant" in describing Indian women.

Examples of shifts from favourable to unfavourable impressions are as follows: Canadians tended to like the Indian women's quiet, shy, polite manner, but this liking moved to perceiving her as cold, aloof, unfriendly, lacking spontaneity. A small percentage of the respondents commented thus: "they think they are better than anyone else, snobbish, arrogant." In informal discussions with East Indian women, it has been brought to this writer's attention that the value, "reserve", is a virtue and desirable characteristic in Indian culture, in particular for women's behaviour. By contrast, "reserve" is a less desirable characteristic in Canadian culture, and is possibly interpreted as "aloof". Further, while Canadians tended to like the Indian woman's commitment to her husband and children, they disliked what they

described as her submission to her husband, her place behind a man, her subservience.

There were some statements which reflected admiration for the retention of the home culture such as: "nice that they retain their culture, other cultures enrich our society, individual enough to keep own culture" but there was a heavier preponderance of statements indicating that respondents felt Indian women should adapt to the larger society in regard to dress, interactions, standards of cleanliness; a few felt they were simply not capable or too inflexible to adapt.

An attempt was made to classify the respondents' statement along a favourable - unfavourable continuum. As Table 2 indicates a high proportion of the respondents fall into a neutral category, i.e., some people said they had no basis for making judgments about Indian women because of lack of contact, a few refused to generalize from limited contact, others wrote "no comment, can't judge, no opinion". About 1/3 of the males and females indicated "no contact"; about 2/3 had "occasional contact". Seemingly, the "occasional contact" moves in either a favourable or unfavourable direction which points to the salience of the nature of the contact experience people have in interacting with one another, i.e., contact per se is not necessarily a sufficient basis for promoting positive perceptions and relationships. The few male students falling into the highly unfavourable category made statements such as: "like nothing about them..I'm prejudiced...too many immigrants...customs unacceptable". Non-student females in clerical type settings said: "hard to tolerate...can't keep up to our pace...I wish I didn't have to see any more ever again".

Female students tended to be most favourably inclined. An example of a very favourable comment is: "they are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality."

V South Asian Perspective:*

A. Characteristics of the Samples

210 volunteer women respondents of East Indian and Anglo-Saxon origins were interviewed by trained senior Canadian women students in two detailed sessions conducted in the women's home settings. An in-depth interview schedule probing the variables of interest to this study drawn from the literature and modified for research pertinent to the Indian culture, in particular, was utilized. The study was viewed as exploratory, it's basic objectives being to identify and refine variables yielding insightful knowledge, again in particular, about the Indian culture.

Since official population records by ethnic background are not available in Canada, population estimates for the Indian group resident in the twin cities were based on listings provided courtesy of local cultural and religious organizations and well-informed individuals within the Indian community. A randomly selected sample of 10% from each sub-group within the Indian community was set as a target sample. Tables 3 and 4 indicate that this "target" sample requirement was largely met. Women from India, Pakistan, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Guyana and Trinidad were, therefore, included in the "target" sample. Respondents of Anglo-Saxon origins were randomly selected from

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*East Indian/Pakistani

the City Directory (Vernon, 1976) on the basis of residential "match" with the Indian women.

Detailed biographical data were obtained from the respondents. Selected data are presented in Table 5. They reveal good "match" between participants in the two groups on demographic variables which investigators employing the survey technique generally attempt to control. Thus, both Indian and Anglo-Saxon women had spent most of their childhood and adolescence within their respective home countries, primarily in cities and towns (rather than metropoles or rural areas), most women in both groups were relatively young, in the 20-34 year-old age bracket, husbands were older than their wives, and most women in both groups had been married 1-5 years. The Anglo-Saxon group peaked at one other age level, 50 years +, married 20 years +.

Primary and high school education were most frequently received by women in both groups. There was a nucleus of women with higher degrees (Bachelor's degree, in particular) among Indians and Anglo-Saxons. There were more cases of clerical-professional training among the Anglo-Saxon women. Husbands in both groups tended to have received more formal education than their women, with a nucleus of men possessing higher degrees for both groups. Respondents' parents had roughly the same educational background. Mothers and fathers generally had attended primary and high schools; a small number of fathers in both groups had obtained the Bachelor's degree. There were more cases of skilled laborours among the fathers of the Anglo-Saxon group.

Respondents in both groups were, in general, "non-students", the salary bracket, $15,000-$20,000 was most frequently endorsed by both

groups where a response to this item had been given. However, there were twice as many Anglo-Saxon couples in the $30,000 + bracket. Husbands were main wage earners in both groups, women who worked contributed just small percentages of the total income. There was, however, a small group of women (5.7% for Indians; 5.8% for Anglo-Saxon) who, seemingly, were sole earners in both groups.

Indians most frequently had a two-child family; Anglo-Saxons three. Indians were primarily Hindu by religion; Anglo-Saxons were primarily Protestant. Women in both groups considered themselves "somewhat religious." Anglo-Saxons said their religious beliefs had changed "somewhat" since leaving the parental home; Indians said their religious beliefs had not changed at all since living in Canada or other western countries. The Indian length of stay in Canada was very variable, ranging from 1-16 years, peaking at 2-3 years. Most Indians were landed immigrants, and most planned to become Canadian citizens.

B. Selected Cultural, Relgious, & Attitudinal Beliefs

Confronted with the question, "Who am I," responded to in a set of sentence completion items: "I have", "I am", "I want", "My goals are", "I would like to be", East Indian women reveal a duality in the nature of their self concept. As Table 6 indicates two basic themes characterize the spontaneous responses of the women:

(i) a traditional - family oriented theme and

(ii) a contemporary - achievement oriented theme.

The first theme revolves around home, husband, children, wife and motherhood; the second theme focuses on education and self improvement. These two themes are repeated through several sets of data, a selection

of which follows.

Thus Table 7 shows that while traditional values involving interpersonal relationships with the family are perceived as salient by the women, contemporary values concerned with development of the self are also perceived as important in the lives of the women. The values comprising the traditional "cluster" include values widely recognized as highly esteemed in the Indian culture such as: loyalty to family, respect for elders, co-operation, doing one's duty. The contemporary "cluster" comprises values such as: self confidence, intellectual ability, developing the self. The importance placed on the value "sexuality" may be understood in the context of the Indian wholistic concept of life, sexual function, and continuity of life. This conceptualization contrasts sharply with the concept of sexuality portrayed in the west, in particular by the mass media, where sexuality is frequently depicted as an entity apart from the rest of life.

Table 8 illustrates the women's attitudes toward Canadian (Western) culture. Again, the data reveal a duality in the nature of their responses. On the one hand, the women are traditional in their attitudes toward the family, religion, and marriage. In their Canadian settings they experience values associated with these three factors as "most different from the home culture," they "dislike and don't want" what they perceive around them with regard to these dimensions, and they "want to keep from the home culture", ideas about family, religion, marriage. On the other hand, they are forward moving and contemporary in certain of their attitudes. Thus, in their Canadian context, they are "most influenced by", "want and admire," educational aspirations,

and opportunities for all; they express no "fear of success"[1] and they score highly on tests of achievement. Corroborating data for traditional attitudes expressed include the findings that the respondents, predominantly Hindu, perceive themselves as "somewhat religous", and they assert that their religious values have "not changed at all" since coming to Canada/western country. The basic philosophical beliefs in Karma[2] and Dharma[3] have a strong influence on the women's lives, but not Varna[4], except in marriage and in interpersonal relationships with the "scheduled classes" of India.

Humanistic, people related values, are important to the women. Thus, the values they model for their children relate to respect, tolerance, sharing, helping. Informal discussions with Indian women reveal awareness among them that the values they view as ideal are at variance with those fostered in the larger more aggressive, competitive, and individualistic society.

Traditional marriage and family styles were viewed favourably; approximately half the sample were married by parental arrangement, the other half by their own choice, a "love marriage."

With regard to Women's Liberation Movements in the West, the women polarize in either a positive or negative direction, i.e., the larger positively oriented group show favourable attitudes toward such

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[1]Fear of success: the disposition exhibited by North American women to become anxious about achieving success because of expected negative consequences (Horner, 1972)

[2]Karma: Sum of a person's actions in one of his successive states of existence, viewed as deciding his fate in the next; destiny.

[3]Dharma: doing one's duty, right behaviour, virtue

[4]Varna: doing one's duty by the rules of caste or social class

movements from adolescence to adulthood; similarly, the smaller negatively oriented group show unfavourable attitudes from adolescence to adulthood. Further, most respondents feel that western views about the place of men and women in society have "little - to very little" influence on them.

Overall, the data clearly suggests the following trends in the East Indian women's self perceptions and attitudes toward life:

(i) A duality in the nature of their life orientation: traditional and contemporary.

(ii) A differential approach in their selection of aspects of Canadian culture for emulation.

(iii) The strong traditional dimension to their self concept plays an important role in determining adjustment and acculturation within the host country.

VI Multiculturalism in Canada

While the data (Table 1) are only suggestive, they seem to imply that people in the majority group expect the ethnic minority to renounce, at least the visible and distinctive aspects of its ancestral culture and life style. Western dress, the English language, Anglo-Saxon based customs, food, life style, again at least in public settings, seem to be a primary consideration for tolerance, perhaps acceptance. Hughes & Kallen (1974) call this the Anglo Conformity Model of ethnic integration, i.e., a one-way process of required acculturation, with the possibility that the minority ethnic culture will become extinct (see Figure I). By contrast, the Cultural Pluralism Model promoted by the Canadian Government is at variance with the Anglo

Conformity model. Cultural pluralism requires only such degrees of integration by ethnic minorities necessary for effective participation in the larger society. It also requires some degree of social segregation by the ethnic minorities necessary for the retention and development of the ancestral culture and identity. The model, Hughes and Kallen assert, assumes an invisible wall, consequently social interaction is limited and controlled. The present data admittedly are based on a narrow sampling of respondents; nevertheless they do not offer the general positive support for multiculturalism found in the Berry study (1970), and reported earlier in this paper. This may well mean that people respond differentially at an abstract attitudinal level, as contrasted with a more concrete experiential level. In the Berry study verbal attitudes toward multiculturalism were studied; in the present study concrete aspects of perception based on the respondent's experience were tested.

Further, in the dynamics of social perception, the visibility factor -- whether physical (i.e., different skin colour, eye or hair type, etc.) or behavioural (i.e., different dress, social customs, etiquette, etc.) tends to create social contrast effects, i.e., the differences are exaggerated, and socially distant relationships may arise.

For East Indian Canadians the discrepancies perceived between national policy, and the expectation of retaining cultural identity with dignity, coupled with the resistance-negativism-hostility encountered in interpersonal relationships creates a dilemma for which they are unprepared. The high degree of ethnocentrism and lack of sensitivity to

official policy among, at least sectors of the majority group, is obvious. The latter statement is supported by the Berry study which revealed a considerable lack of knowledge regarding multi-culturalism as government policy.

It may be of interest that East Indians toy with emulating the so-called Jewish Model as a way of coping with the dual demand confronting them, i.e., retaining cultural identity and simultaneously conforming to expected Anglo Saxon mores. Morley Torgov* writes that in the 40's and 50's Jewish immigrants confronted with a similar dilemma apparently adopted the attitude: Think Yiddish but dress British. Jews in Canada for several decades conformed to Anglo Saxon mores in all public settings, but retained those beliefs and values essential to the Jewish identity in the privacy of their homes and synagogues. Today there is a reversal in this trend; traditional skullcaps ("yarmulkes"), for instance, are worn openly and with pride in public settings in Toronto.

VII Perspective of Socio-Psychological Theory

The discussion developed thus far indicates areas of potential conflict between the East Indian minority group and the larger Canadian society based on ethnocentric attitudes within both groups and certain marked value differences. The data presented (Table 1 & 2) reveal a general lack of tolerance of ethnic diversity and at least the rudiments of prejudice in the perceptions of white Canadians. No single theory can explain negative inter-group relationships. Gordon Allport (1958)

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*Torgov, Morley: Have Torah, Will Travel. Weekend Magazine, Globe and Mail, April 22, 1978.

has captured this idea in his conceptualization of the dimensions operating in the genesis of prejudice, ranging from the most macroscopic (e.g., historical factors) to the most microscopic (e.g., personal experiences). Figure II illustrates the causes of prejudice identified by Allport as follows: (i) historical, (ii) socio-cultural, (iii) situational-socialization, (iv) personality dynamics, (v) phenomenological, and (vi) traits of the stimulus object which may precipitate prejudice.

VIII The Question of Racism in Canada

In recent years concern has been expressed at several levels of Canadian society at the growing inter-ethnic intolerance that periodically surfaces in ugly incidents. The question "Does racism exist in Canada, is being asked and examined with greater frequency than in previous periods of Canadian history. The following sources of data offer some commentary on this question.

1. Federal Government "Green Paper" on Immigration, 1975

Following the liberalization of the immigration regulations in the early 60's there was a shift in the source of immigration -- from Britain, and Europe to the Asian countries in particular. Prior to 1967 Asian immigrants comprised on the average less than 4%, but they were more than 23% of "landed" immigrants in 1973 & 1974.[1]

Concomitant with the liberalization of the immigration regula-

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[1]Richard Anthony: The "Green Paper": Reflections on Canadian Immigration & Population Study, Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. 7, #1, 1975, 5-21.

tions arose changes in attitudes toward immigration in the Canadian public. In the early 60's attitudes were generally favourable, by 1965 the well educated were more favourable than the lesser educated, though favourable attitudes persisted, but in 1975, for all levels of education, respondents largely endorsed the statement: decrease immigration or keep the number of immigrants at about the current level.[2]

Richard Anthony contends that the publication of the "Green Paper" in 1975 came at a time when Canadians were feeling insecure and threatened by immediate problems such as: inflation, unemployment, housing shortage, and environmental pollution. Public discussion of immigration policies resulted in confusion between these issues and immigration policies. The danger exists that immigrants may be made the scapegoats for the government's failure to handle these more fundamental economic and social problems effectively.[3]

In discussing the implications of the "Green Paper", Howard Palmer,[4] points out that some analysts see the Green Paper as much too restrictive, as showing too much concern about the social effects of non-white immigrants, and the potential negative effect of immigration on the economy and urban life. Other analysts perceive the Green Paper as providing a rationale for restrictive policy on immigration in

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[2]Ibid., p. 11

[3]Ibid., p. 20-21

[4]Howard Palmer: Introduction: Roundtable on the Green Paper on Immigration, Canadian ethnic Studies, Vol. 7, #7, 1975, 1-4.

response to pressures from racists and urban doomsayers. Palmer views the government document as concerned with the long-term effects of immigration on Canadian society, but he criticizes the document for its failure to link immigration with multiculturalism, its failure to present the positive contributions of immigrants. But he does think that critics have gone too far in labelling it a racist document.

2. The Berry Study on Multiculturalism, 1976

A. Three interdependent conditions for intergroup tolerance were identified in this study: group definition (feeling of belongingness to a group defined in both objectives and subjective terms), objective group evaluation, free of defensiveness & exaggeration, and group security in its cultural and economic setting. Should any one of these conditions be lacking intergroup conflict may ensue. The study revealed a clear assumption that one consequence of further immigration would be greater unemployment.

B. The study showed that too rigid a conceptualization of "ethnic identity" tends to generate ethnocentric attitudes and subsequent rejection of out-group people, i.e., confidence in one's own cultural identity does not necessarily imply the development of positive attitudes towards others as is sometimes contended. (Prime Minister's statement, 1971, quoted by Berry et al., p. 224: "cultural group freedom from discrimination must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes, and assumptions").

3. The Pitman Report: Now Is Not Too Late, 1977

The Report comprises a sensitive appraisal of the changing

character of Metropolitan Toronto, it describes the nature of the South Asian (East Indian/Pakistani) community in that city, and it attempts to create an image of the potential assailant and victim based on true case histories involving 71 people in 31 incidents. Finally, it offers 42 recommendations aimed at arresting the potential dangers of inter-racial violence in Toronto, as the title suggests, Now, before it is too late.

The changing composition of Metro Toronto is presented. Thus, for example, while only 19% of the city's residents were born out of Canada in 1951, by 1971 this figure had risen to 37%. The flow of the visible minorities had also increased and by 1976 this flow comprised 34% European and 59 Non-European peoples. The influx of people of non-western peoples created a "cultural shock" for White Canadians, and the newcomers were perceived as "taking Canadian jobs". Given the total pressure of urban growth, and the Canadian unity-identity crisis, people who exhibited a contrasting experience came to be viewed as a threat.

As mentioned earlier in this paper the high level of training and education of the East Indian community in Toronto is noted, as is the fact that in general they have qualifications beyond employment found in Canada. Pitman asserts that the community is making considerable contributions to Canadian society at professional and paraprofessional levels. This has surprised and shocked native Canadians. East Indians, many of whom come from the wealthy and privileged classes of India, are in turn, shocked to find themselves at the bottom of the totem pole. Physical, cultural, and value differences exacerbate the social distance between the two groups.

The Report offers a series of recommendations for relieving

intergroup tension and promoting city development which reflects the true diversity of the community. The recommendations are addressed to all levels of Torontonian society - police, educators, social services, the mass media. Efforts to draw the visible minorities into fullest participation in the larger society must be promoted and the existence of racism in the city must be recognized. The report concludes: Toronto must develop an "affection for diversity" for the world of tomorrow will be pluralistic (p. 275).

4. Frances Henry Study of Racism in Toronto, 1978

This study was commissioned by the Secretary of States Office to measure the extent of racism in Toronto's population and to determine demographic and other variables which correlated with racist/non-racist attitudes, with particular reference to brown/black skinned people.

The findings of the study, in general, confirm the findings of similar studies conducted in the United States and other parts of the world. Thus, the study reports the following:

1. A higher incidence of racist attitudes among older (retired) people, women at home (non-participants in the work force), religious people more so than non-religious, lower classes and poorly educated more so than people in the middle classes and the better educated.

2. Southern and Eastern Europeans tend to be more racist than Canadian born persons or persons born in Britain, the United States or Western Europe.

3. People with authoritarian personality traits reveal more racist attitudes than people with non-authoritarian personality traits.

4. South Asians were seen as more culturally different to White Canadians than were Blacks and they were perceived as more arrogant.

Overall, the study revealed the following distribution of attitudes in the population: 16% extreme racist views, 35% lie in a racist direction, 30% in a liberal direction, and 19% hold liberal views. These figures closely approximate data on the distribution of race attitudes in the United States as identified by Donald Campbell (1963). Efforts at changing attitudes in a more positive direction should obviously be aimed of people in the middling group.

IX Conclusion: Promoting a Pluralistic Canada

In assesssing the data presented in this paper, it seems fair to contend that while there is some degree of negativism in the Canadian perspective on East Indians, attitudes have certainly not "jellied" and there exist several avenues for improved relationships between the two groups. Some pointers toward this goal which emerge from this paper are the following:

(i) There is an urgent need for people at all levels to have an understanding of the dynamics of inter ethnic relationships. Such understanding will make people's attitudes and behaviour meaningful to them. Scholars in the social sciences must share in the onus of bringing knowledge about these dynmaics to the attention of the public.

(ii) Wide scale government sponsored programs are needed to educate Canadians in the larger society for living within a pluralistic society. Several of the studies cited in this paper reveal that Canadians generally are not informed about government policy on multiculturalism

and that many people are not ready for racial mix. People should be alerted to the frequently reported lack of correlation between abstract, theoretical conceptualizations of interethnic relationships, and concrete, experiential realities. People should be prepared. Government, educators, churches, social agencies, the mass media, all bear a responsibility.

(iii) Constructive and creative contributions of East Indians (and Asians generally) to Canadian society should perhaps be given more visible recognition in the media, and official documents. Probably, because the Asian community is small, often scant attention is given to their presence and contributions to the society.

(iv) A more enlightened perspective on western cultures and religions within the global context of many other cultures and religions remains to be adopted by westerners generally. A consistent finding in the literature is that more intolerance is shown by religious and church-going people than by non-religious people. One aspect of pluralistic living has to be the recognition and acceptance of the rich spiritual heritage of people outside Christianity -- on equal terms. Pluralistic living calls for a more truly reciprocal relationship between peoples of western and non-western origins. These are some of the basic premises for the flourishing of a truly pluralistic society in Canada.

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Table 1

CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF EAST INDIAN WOMEN* N = 189

TRAIT DESCRIPTION	MOST FREQUENT**
Liked, Positive Traits	Beauty Grace Intelligence Femininity
Disliked, Negative Traits	Unfamiliar Odours (Food) Abrupt Mannerisms Traditional Customs (Dress, "Tikka") Accent, Home Language (Public Use) Class Orientedness, Arrogance Ethnocentricity, Groupiness
Shifts from Positive, Liked Traits to Negative Disliked Traits	Quietness, Politeness to -- Aloof, Unfriendly, Lacking Vitality Commitment to Family to -- Subservience to Men Some Admiration for Retention of Home Culture to -- Unwillingness to Integrate, Rigidity

*Exploratory Study -- Findings should not be generalized until further data are collected.

**Within each category traits are ranked by frequency; negative comments had a stronger affective tone than positive comments.

Table 2

FAVOURABILITY* OF CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF EAST INDIAN WOMEN

N = 189

RESPONDENTS	HIGHLY FAVOURABLE	FAVOURABLE DIRECTION	NEUTRAL	UNFAVOURABLE DIRECTION	HIGHLY UNFAVOURABLE
Student Males N=65	1	16	30	14	4
Student Females N=76	2	26	28	18	2
Non-Student Males N=11		1	6	2	2
Non-Student Females N=37	3	10	8	12	4

*Based on Judgments of balance between positive versus negative traits assigned; neutral point describes statements such as: "no comment", "can't judge", "don't know", "no contact", etc. Respondents in the neutral category generally had no contact with East Indian Women.

Table 3

DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY SAMPLE

Home Country	# FAMILIES	10% SAMPLE	OBTAINED Sample	% Frequency
India	250	25	55	52.4
Pakistan	80	8	12	11.4
Bangledesh	10	1	3	2.9
Sri Lanka	10	1	4	3.8
East Africa	150	15	10*	9.5
Guyana	110	11	12	11.4
Trinidad	75	8	9	8.6
Totals	685	69	105	100.0

*under represented

Local East Indian population -- approx. 3,000

Table: 4

SURVEY SAMPLE BY RELIGION

Home	Religion	Frequency	Total (N = 105)
INDIA	Hindu	41	
	Sikh	8	
	Muslim	4	
	Christian	3	
	Jain	1	55
PAKISTAN	Christian	7	
	Muslim	5*	12
BANGLEDESH	Muslim	3	3
SRI LANKA	Christian	4	4
EAST AFRICA	Ismaili Uganda	5*	
	Ithna-Asheri	3	
	Hindu (Kenya)	1	
	Muslim (Tanzania)	1	10
GUYANA	Hindu	6	
	Muslim	3	
	Christian	3	12
TRINIDAD	Hindu	2	
	Christian	7	9

*under represented

Table: 5

SALIENT DEMOGRAPHIC DATA (N = 105 EAST INDIANS: 105 Anglo-Saxons* Canadians)

VARIABLES		East Indians Frequency	Anglo-Saxons Frequency
Women's Age:	20-24	24	17
	25-29	23	15
	30-34	24	23
	35-39	20	11
	40-44	7	11
	45-49	6	8
	50 +	1	17
Length of Marriage: (years)	1-5	33	25
	6-10	22	18
	11-15	25	16
	16-20	9	11
	20 +	10	30
# of Children:	1	18	14
	2	31	20
	3	16	32
	4	5	10
	5+	4	3
Length of stay in Canada(years)	1	10	
	2	13	
	3	16	
	4	7	
	6	14	
	.	.	
	10-16	14	

(*Data missing on many items)

VARIABLES		East Indians Frequency	Anglo-Saxons Frequency
Family Salary:	Under $4,999	0	6
	$5,999 - 9,999	16	12
	$10,000-14,999	13	11
	$15,000-19,999	20	20
	$20,000-24,999	6	12
	$25,000-29,999	9	6
	$30,000 +	7	15
Woman's Education:			
	Primary School	87	92
	High School	85	90
	Clerical	18	16
	Secretarial	24	18
	Teaching Dipl.	17	14
	Nursing Dipl.	2	8
	B. A. Degree	38	31
	M.A. Degree	18	3
	Medical Degree	1	0
	Ph.D.	1	0

Women's Religion:

Hindu	46	Rom. Cath.	10	
Muslim	20	Prot.	74	
Christ.	22	Jewish	1	
Other	12	Other	19	

Immigration Status:	Citizen	27	105
	Landed	73	
	Visitor	5	

Table 6

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF EAST INDIAN "WHO AM I" RESPONSES (N = 104)

Cue Phrase	Most Frequent Responses	Categorization
1. "I have"	small children	family-centred
	good husband	
	car, home	ownership
	music, reading	interests
	sense of humour,	
	education	personal traits
2. "I am"	a wife, mother	family-centred
	a woman	female identity
	nice, happy, impatient	personality traits
	a teacher, typist, student	occupation
3. "I want"	good education for children	family education
	realize own potential	self-achievement
	happy family	family-centred
	car, home, money	material possessions
	to help others	other-oriented
	perfection, truth,	
	peace of mind	spiritual state
4. "My goals are"	further own education	self-improvement
	successful family life	family-centred
	share Indian culture	inter-group relationship
5. "I would like to (be)	good mother, wife	family oriented
	social worker, teacher	career aspirations
	useful, educated, learn	
	skills (English, driving pottery)	self-improvement
	close rich-poor gap,	
	work for broken homes	meaningful service

Table: 7

SALIENT VALUES IN LIFE*

	Most Important		Important		Neither Important Nor Unimportant		N	N			
	EI**	AS	EI	AS	EI	AS	EI	AS	x^2	df	p
developing the self	52	18	41	51	6	29	102	103	33.85	4	.001
intellectual ability	26	5	60	57	15	31	103	104	26.46	4	.001
self confidence	66	48	35	56	2	1	103	105	8.00	2	.05
sexuality	64	32	35	53	4	17					
perserverence	63	35	40	69	-	-	103	104	14.62	1	.001
doing one's duty	20	6	35	25	35	39	107	101	22.08	4	.001
co-operation	55	20	39	66	7	13	102	104	27.85	4	.001
respect for elders	37	19	61	61	4	23	102	103	19.15	2	.001
first loyalty to family	59	35	40	57	4	8	103	103	13.44	3	.01
obedience to authority	36	15	49	58	13	23	102	104	14.83	4	.01

* A 5 category scale was used, ranging from most important-most unimportant. Only 3 categories are reported; unreported categories were endorsed with low frequency.

** EI = East Indian
AS = Anglo Saxon

Table: 8

ATTITUDES TOWARD CANADIAN (WESTERN) CULTURE
(N = 105 East Indians)

Most Influence	F	Admire & Want	F	Dislike & Don't Want	F	Most Different From Home Culture	F	Want to Keep From Home Culture	F
educational aspirations	58	educational aspirations	64	ideas about family relationships	51	ideas on marriage	52	ideas about family relationships	65
opportunities for all	55	opportunities for all	54	ideas on marriage	44	ideas about family relationships	51	religious ideas	40
dress	36	dress	28	ideas about material things	28	food & drink	36	ideas on marriage	36
social customs	36	privacy at social arrangements	20	privacy at social relationships	19	social customs	35	social customs	34

FIG. I MODELS OF ETHNIC INTEGRATION (HUGHES & KALLEN, 1974)

"IDEAL TYPE" MODELS	CONDITIONS	ACCULTURATION PROCESS
1. Anglo-Conformity	Renounce Ancestral Culture. Adopt Values, Life Styles of Majority.	One Way Process Subordination/Extinction of Identity
2. Melting Pot (American Ideal)	Extensive Social Interaction. Blending of Cultures to Create New Society	Two Way Process New Identity
3. Cultural Pluralism* (Canadian Ideal)	Unspecified Degree of Integration by Minorities for Effective Participation in Institutions in Larger Society	Symbiotic Co-existence. Peripheral Contact Retain Identity

*(Multi-Culturalism or Mosaic)

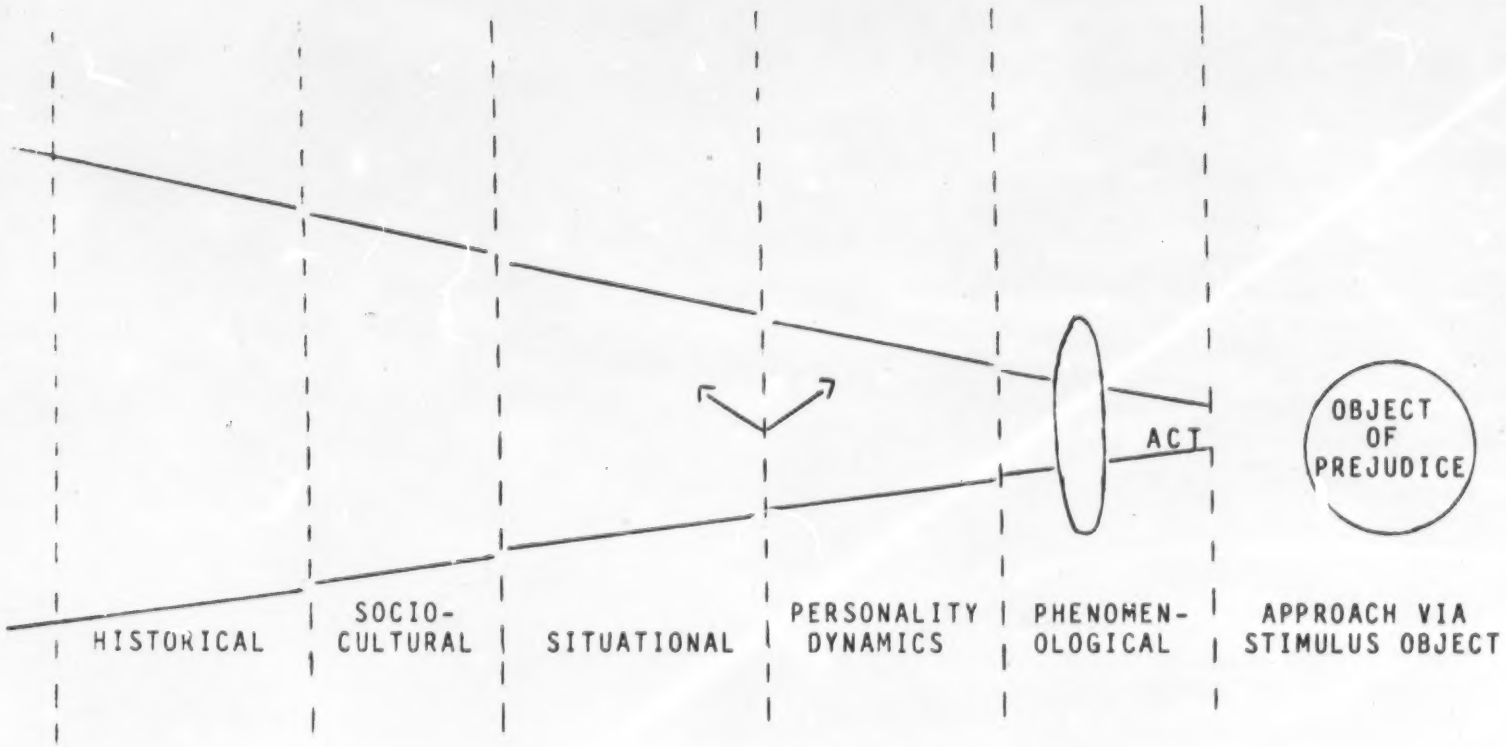

FIG. II THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF PREJUDICE (ALLPORT, 1958)